



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

US  
6352  
12



US6352.12



INTIMIDATION  
AND THE  
**Number of White and of Colored Voters**  
IN  
LOUISIANA IN 1876,

AS SHOWN BY  
STATISTICAL DATA  
DERIVED FROM  
REPUBLICAN OFFICIAL REPORTS

BY  
PROF. S. E. CHAILLÉ, M. D.

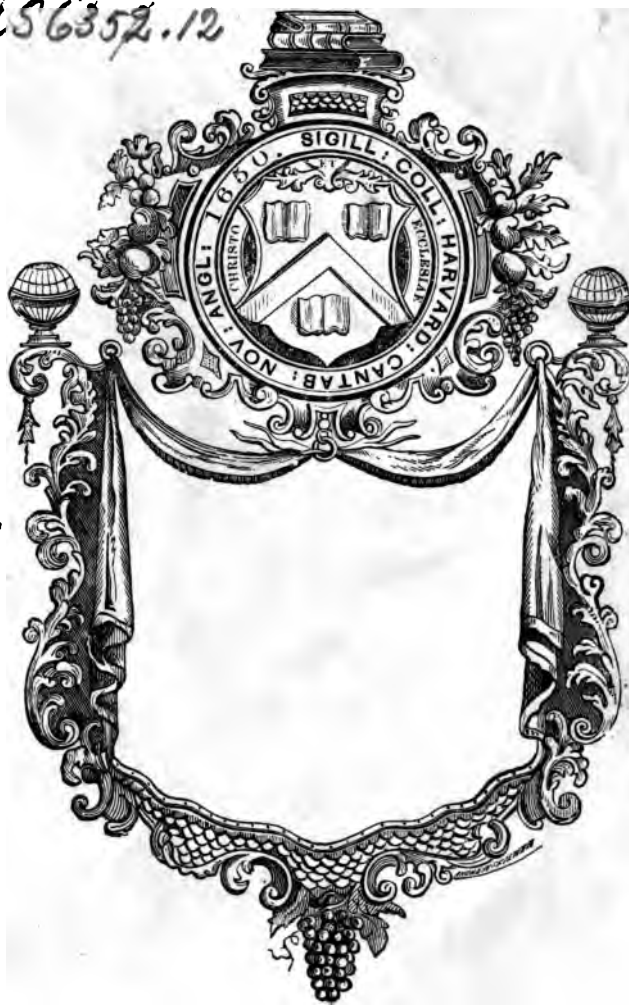
---

NEW ORLEANS January 19, 1877.

---

PICAYUNE OFFICE JOB PRINT, 66 CAMP STREET.

US6352.12



INTIMIDATION  
AND THE  
**Number of White and of Colored Voters**

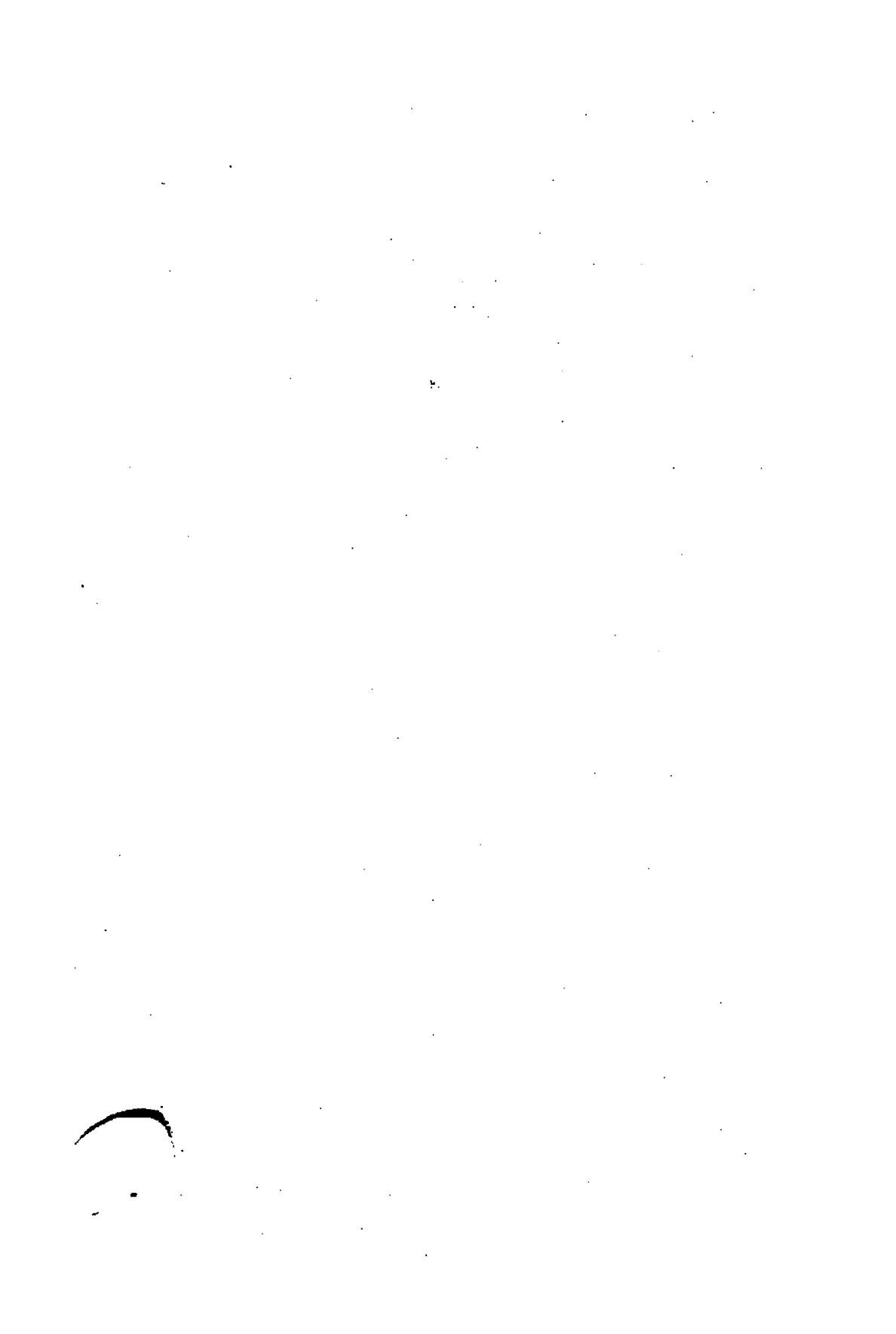
IN  
LOUISIANA IN 1876,

AS SHOWN BY  
STATISTICAL DATA  
DERIVED FROM  
REPUBLICAN OFFICIAL REPORTS

BY  
PROF. S. E. CHAILLÉ, M. D.

NEW ORLEANS January 19, 1877.

PICAYUNE OFFICE JOB PRINT, 66 CAMP STREET.



INTIMIDATION  
AND THE  
**Number of White and of Colored Voters**  
IN  
LOUISIANA IN 1876,  
AS SHOWN BY  
STATISTICAL DATA  
DERIVED FROM  
REPUBLICAN OFFICIAL REPORTS

BY  
*S. E. Chaillé*  
PROF. S. E. CHAILLÉ, M. D.

---

NEW ORLEANS, January 19, 1877.

---

PICAYUNE OFFICE JOB PRINT, 66 CAMP STREET.



U.S. 6352.12

1883 Dec. 13.

Gift of  
Dr. Francis H. Brown,  
of Boston.

## TESTIMONY,\* JANUARY 13th, 1877.

Before the Committee of the U. S. House of Representatives on Louisiana Affairs. Hon. W. R. Morrison, (Ills.) Chairman — Present: the Chairman, the Hon. Geo. A. Jenks, Pa., (Dem.)—and the Hon. W. Townsend, of Pa., (Repub.)

Prof. S. E. Chaillé, M. D. was sworn and examined. In reply to questions of the Chairman, and of the Hon. W. Townsend, Dr. Chaillé answered :

I have resided in New Orleans since 1851 ; prior to that time I resided for seven years at South Andover, Mass., where I was prepared for College, and at Cambridge, Mass., where I received my degrees of A. B. and of A. M. I am a Physician, and a Professor in the Medical Department University of Louisiana. I have been appointed to fill four different posts of honor in said University since 1857. I was a co-Editor and Proprietor of the New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal, 1857-1868. I am a member of the American Public Health Association, of the American Medical Association, an honorary Fellow of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Philadelphia, and I was an honorary member of the International Medical Congress—having received from the Centennial Medical Commission the high compliment

---

\* This testimony from p. 6 to p. 32 and from pp. 34, 35 was also submitted on January 18th, 1877, to the United States Senate-Louisiana-Committee; Senator Howe, Chairman.

of having been chosen by it, one of the ten physicians selected from the whole United States to address said Congress in Philadelphia, September, 1876.

Since 1867 I have devoted much labor to Vital Statistics in reference to the public health. I hold in hand a volume of my own various publications, which refer for the most part to Hygiene. These contributions to science have been largely noticed both at home and abroad. To these publications I attribute the notable compliment paid me by the Centennial Medical Commission.

From 1867 to recent years, I was in correspondence with the Hon. Francis A. Walker, Superintendent United States Census, 1870. To him I owe many courtesies. The copy of the United States Census which I here present reached me, as you see, with his compliments; he requested my suggestions as to the Census of 1870; I have with me, subject to your inspection, many letters from him; and Colonel William Wright the Registrar of Voters, who superintended the Louisiana State Census of 1875, consulted me frequently, and when he first called, said that he did so, because Mr Walker had written to him stating that I was the only man in this State, informed on the subject—or words to that effect. As a Statistician, I was summoned to give evidence before the Foster-Phelps, and the Wheeler-Hoar Congressional Committees of 1874-5. The pamphlet I now show you contains my evidence before the latter.

My friend and neighbor, Hon. R. L. Gibson, in-

*copy*

INTIMIDATION  
AND THE  
**Number of White and of Colored Voters**  
IN  
LOUISIANA IN 1876,  
AS SHOWN BY  
STATISTICAL DATA  
DERIVED FROM  
REPUBLICAN OFFICIAL REPORTS  
BY  
PROF. S. E. CHAILLÉ, M. D.

---

NEW ORLEANS: January 19, 1877.

---

PICAYUNE OFFICE JOB PRINT, 66 CAMP STREET.

—

INTIMIDATION  
AND THE  
**Number of White and of Colored Voters**  
IN  
LOUISIANA IN 1876,  
AS SHOWN BY  
STATISTICAL DATA  
DERIVED FROM  
REPUBLICAN OFFICIAL REPORTS

BY  
*Stanford*  
PROF. S. E. CHAILLÉ, M. D.

---

NEW ORLEANS, January 19, 1877.

---

~~~~~  
PICAYUNE OFFICE JOB PRINT, 66 CAMP STREET.

practised chiefly on able-bodied colored voters, but also "on women, children and defenceless men." (For these quotations see pp. 1-9 Ex Doc. No. 2.) Citations could be endlessly extended in proof of the anarchy of turbulence and terror, to which the blacks of this State are alleged to have been subjected by brutal whites during the past six years.

The statistician knows well how detrimental is such a condition to the development of population, whether by natural or by extraneous increase; unless there should be such exceptional circumstances associated with this condition as tend to stimulate adventurers to seek sudden fortune. These would find in Louisiana no mines of gold, nor fields of diamonds, but a people too hopeless and too impoverished to offer even the ordinary inducements to immigration. Great then is the statistician's surprise to find on page 19 of the State Census\* of 1875 the statement that "for the past six years there has been a steady influx of negroes," "these have been converging upon Louisiana while the whites have been radiating from it."

Is it possible that the appalling accounts of the intimidation of the negro, and of his "steady influx" at the same time into the very jaws of widespread and unsurpassable outrage should both be true? The apparent inconsistency of these statements incites an investigation of those data of the State Census, upon which its compiler founds his

---

\*The State Census of 1875 is officially designated "Report of the State Registrar of Voters to the General Assembly of Louisiana, session of 1876." As herein implied, the Registrar of Voters in Louisiana is the chief of the census, and is therefore responsible for the enumeration as well as for the registration.

assertions. He asserts that "the whites have been radiating from Louisiana," and in proof of this assertion, his 8th Table enumerates an increase of the white population during the five years 1870-1875 of 42,851, (i. e., 404,916 white population in 1875 minus 362,065 in 1870.) This increase considerably exceeds 11 per cent. which is the *maximum* natural increase of population in the United States for five years, when not augmented by extraneous aid. What is to be thought of an official report which asserts that a population is *diminishing*, and bases this assertion on an increase exceeding the maximum natural increase of such population?

Having now discovered to what extent the whites "have been radiating" from Louisiana, let us investigate to what extent the "steady influx of negroes" has been "converging upon" this State. Side by side the above white data is to be found an increase of 86,401 colored population, (i. e., 450,611 colored population in 1875 minus 364,210 in 1870.) This is an increase of about 50,000 in excess of the *maximum* natural increase, or, in other words, a "steady influx" during the five years 1870-5, of 10,000 annually. Thus, the State Census asserts that the colored population has enjoyed the maximum natural increase, even though the statistician reject from his computation the thousands alleged to have been murdered, and who thus seriously impaired this *natural* increase; and that, in addition to this increase, there was a "steady influx" of 10,000 annually, in despite of "the terrible and revolting" work done by "the pistol and the rifle,



the knife and the rope," "on women, children and defenceless men." The total increase, under these disastrous conditions, has been to the enormous amount of nearly 24 per cent. in five years! Even in Ouachita, the parish so offensive to the Returning Board, the parish reported to have presented the crowning example in an enormous list of savage brutalities, there was a reported increase of negroes of about 20 per cent., (i. e., colored population in 1870, 7,823; in 1875, 9,354.)

These statements of Republican officials force the statistician to one of three conclusions, viz: either the intimidation reports are untrustworthy, or the State Census is untrustworthy, or the African possesses less of the instinct of self-preservation than migratory geese, which do promptly terminate their annual "steady influx" under the influence of thousand-fold murders and mutilations by "the pistol and the rifle," etc.

In 1874, the intimidation-accusation was that colored voters were *prevented* from voting—yet the total vote cast was in as a large proportion to the total population as in *any unintimidated* State. If then in 1874, the accusation was well founded—there would be no possible explanation (consistent with the United States Census of 1870) of Louisiana's very large vote, except on the supposition that those who had charge of the ballot-boxes stuffed them with votes, sufficient to compensate for the voters who, as is alleged, were prevented by intimidation from voting.

In 1876 the intimidation-accusation has, in some

measure, been aggravated. For, it is now charged, that while many colored citizens were *prevented* from voting, there were many others who were *forced to vote* a hated ticket. There are no numerical data by which the credibility of the latter accusation can be estimated. It is, however, worth stating, that while the Returning Board counted 145,822 votes for Governor, there were 160,964 such votes actually cast; that this vote as cast in intimidated Louisiana in 1876 was in proportion to the total population in 1870 (726,915) as 100 voters to every 451 population; and that in the whole United States the proportion of voters for President in 1876 (8,433,857 as reported by N. Y. Daily Tribune) was to the total population in 1870 (38,115,641) as 100 voters to every 452 population. Farther, if we concede to the United States a population in 1876 of 45,000,000, and to Louisiana the 857,039 population reported by the State Census of 1875, then in the United States there were 100 voters to every 533 population, and in Louisiana 100 voters to every 532 population.

With these facts I abandon the subject of intimidation, and proceed to investigate the second question, viz :

II. What is the Relative Proportion in Louisiana, not so specially of the White to the Colored *males 21 years and over*, as of the White to the Colored "Citizens"—as proved by statistics derived from the official reports of officers of the Republican party ?

The Republican press has for years asserted, and does now daily reiterate that there is in Louisiana a majority of colored citizens of from 15,000 to 25,000. A distinguished citizen of this city (now present) testifies that this is the conviction of President Grant, and the explanation of much of his action as to this State. Within this month (January, 1877) the Republican candidate for Vice President is reported to have said that this majority was not less than 15,000; and on December 6th, 1876, the President's Visiting Committee did report to him that this majority was 22,314, (see p. 7, Ex. Doc. No. 2,) basing this assertion on the registration of white and colored voters. But the committee did our Registrar of Voters an injustice, for the *official* report declares that there were registered 207,622 voters—of whom 115,268 were colored, and 92,354 were whites—giving a majority not of “22,314,” but of 22,914 colored voters.\*

All of these assertions, as to the large majority of colored citizens, are based exclusively on the data of the United States Census of 1870, and of the various official reports of the Registrar of Voters. Referring to these very same authorities, I, as a student of statistics, assert that they prove no such thing, and pledge myself to convince, even the bitterest partisan of this, if he be provided with common sense, a school boy's knowledge of arithmetic, and the patience necessary to investigate these

---

\* See “the Official Journal of Louisiana,” i. e., The N. O. Daily Republican, of December 31st, 1876. Since the Republican's extensive table, “compiled from official records,” has no signature attached, it may not be proper to term it “official.” However, the data, with one noted exception, are derived from the official reports of the Registrar of Voters.

tedious reports. For the benefit of the Foster, as also of the Wheeler Congressional Committees of 1875, I entered into a thorough investigation of all official reports furnishing any statistical data on the relative proportion of the white and colored population, who lived, died, registered, and voted in this state and city. This testimony (published in the Cong. Report) proved beyond question that in Louisiana the proportion of the white to the colored males 21 years and over was in 1870 so evenly balanced that no man could say which had a majority. This published testimony is valid now, as it was two years since; and so valid, that though extensively quoted and criticised by the press of each party, not a single error was exposed, nor an attack made upon it except for an unintentional omission, which it is imperative to consider in connection with the facts now to be presented.

The United States Census reports that there were in Louisiana in 1870, 87,066 white\* and 86,913 colored males over 21 years old,† and of this sum total of 173,979, only 159,001‡ were "*citizens.*" [This last fact is the one which I, from lack of information, omitted to consider, and which aroused hostile criticism.]

The Census does not assert, but it does fairly imply, that the difference of 14,978 between the males

---

\* See U. S. Census, 1870, vol. 2, p. 608—"Total white males 183,031, and on page 612, 95,965 white males "*under 21*"=87,066, 21 years and over.

† See U. S. Census, 1870, vol. 2, p. 648—"Total colored males 178,784, and on page 651, 91,871 colored males "*under 21*"=86,913, 21 years and over.

‡ See U. S. Census, 1870, vol. 1, p. 629—"159,001 male citizens," and "174,187 males 21 and upwards," but if from these "174,187" total males, etc., be deducted the Indians and Chinese, the remainder is 173,979 white and colored males as stated.

21 years and over, and the "citizens," was due to the number of foreign males 21 years and over, who were not naturalized in 1870. If this difference of 14,978 § be equally distributed between the foreign white and the foreign colored males 21 years and over, the result is 86,638 colored "citizens," (viz: 86,913 minus 275,) and 72,363 white "citizens," (viz: 87,066 minus 14,703.) ¶

Thus a majority is left not of 14,978, but of 14,275 colored citizens, and this 14,275 excess is the maximum majority which can possibly be claimed by authority of the United States Census as having existed in 1870. What influence has time had on this 14,275 majority? On the answer to this important question hangs the truth, and to elucidate this it is indispensable to consider three sets of statistical data.

1st. The Census reports in figures the well known facts that the war seriously diminished the number of white males 21 years and over, but spared the growing crop. As a result of this the Census reports that in 1870 there were in Louisiana 2,569 more

---

§ Here is the 15,000 majority of Mr. Wheeler and others.

¶ Total foreign born males, U. S. C. 1870, vol. 2, p. 596.....33,422  
 " " " under 21 years, U. S. C. 1870. vol. 2, p. 599..... 2,391  
 and these data yield 31,041 total foreign born males 21 years and over. The total foreign born *white* males were 32,786, vol. 2, p. 633, of these (see p. 639) 2,324 were under 21 years, and this leaves 30,462 foreign born whites 21 years and over. If now these 30,462 whites be deducted from the total 31,041, foreign born males, white and *not* white, the remainder is 579 foreign born males 21 years and over *not* white. Finally, it will be found that the relationship of 30,462 *white* foreign born males 21 years and over, and of the 579 foreign born males *not* white, is to 14,978 as 14,703 whites is to 275 non-naturalized males 21 years and over *not* white. Of these 275 about 69 were Chinese, leaving 206 foreign born negro or colored males 21 years and over not naturalized in 1870. How many of these may have since been naturalized is undeterminable; and in subsequent statements I have paid no regard to said 206 foreign negroes, but have represented all the foreigners naturalized since 1870 as *white* citizens.

white youths from 15 to 21 years old, than of such colored youths.\* This excess of 2,569 white youths was entitled to vote in 1876, and must be deducted from the 14,275 colored majority of 1870.

2d. The Census reports that there were in Louisiana in 1870, 30,462 foreign white males 21 years of age and over,† and implies that 14,703 of these were not naturalized "citizens" in June, 1870, when the Census was taken. How many foreigners have been naturalized from June, 1870, to the present time? Before answering this question I beg special consideration of a general fact, as to which Louisiana is exceptional, viz: that the foreign population has been constantly decreasing for 15 years (from 80,975 in 1860, to 61,827 in 1870, and to 56,019 in 1875,) and that as an inevitable result of this there must be an exceptionally large number of foreign males 21 years and over, who are qualified by duration of residence to become citizens. For proofs as to how many of these have availed themselves of this privilege, I must summon a witness, the Registrar of Voters, who, I, as a student of statistics assert, and will give my proofs, is the most astounding

---

\*Total white males under 21 years 95,965 (U. S. C. Vol. II, p. 612.)  
 " " " 15 " 73,998 (U. S. C. Vol. II, p. 611.)

This left in 1870 ..... 21,967 white males 15 to 21 years.

Total colored males under 21 years 91,871 (U. S. C. Vol. II, p. 651.)  
 " " " 15 " 72,473 (U. S. C. Vol. II, p. 650.)

This left in 1870 ..... 19,398 colored males 15 to 21 years.

Now deduct from the 21,967 white youths 15 to 21 years the 19,389 colored youths, and the remainder is an excess of 2,569 white youths from 15 to 21 years in 1870.

† The State Census reports that there were in 1875 28,458 foreign born males over 21 years of age, viz: 19,374 naturalized plus 9,084 not naturalized.

statistical witness whom modern records can furnish. But the evidence which I am now to elicit, the Registrar gives with a protest, and fortunately the records of our courts credibly substantiate this incredible witness. Turn to p. 31 of his official report, ("1871") and it will be found that he testifies that there were in Louisiana, on October 28, 1870, more than "12,229" foreign citizens, for he registered this number of foreign born voters; turn then to p. 8, and it will be found that he testifies that "1,187" of these were naturalized in New Orleans in 1870 and subsequent to the Census, i. e., from "July 4th to October 28th, 1870." If a number proportionate to these 1,187 naturalized in this city were naturalized in the balance of the State, then there were 438 naturalized in the country-parishes from July 4th, 1870, to October 28th, 1870, in addition to the 1,187 in New Orleans.\* Deduct this total (1,625) from the 12,229 foreign born citizens who were registered to October 28th, 1870, and we then have only 10,604 (of the 12,229) who were citizens in *June*, 1870, when the Census was taken. Now refer, in the first place, to the Registrar's report, "session, 1875," and in Table 3 it will be found that the 10,604 had so increased that he registered as

---

\* As already stated, U. S. C., vol. 2, pp. 596 and 599, shows a total of 31,041 foreign born males 21 years and over. Of these there were 22,668 in New Orleans, as shown by a table received direct from Hon. Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of Census of 1870. This would leave 8,373 foreign born males over 21 years, in the country parishes in 1870. If the 22,668 in New Orleans registered 1,187 voters from July 4th to October 28th, 1870, then the 8,373 in the country ought to have registered 438 naturalized voters. I have not found in the Census the above distribution of the foreign males 21 years and over in this city and in the country; but the facts are as above stated, in the unprinted table courteously sent to me by Mr. Walker. This Table was presented to the Committee, and examined by the Hon. W. Townsend.

voters in Louisiana, in 1874, "16,986 foreign born citizens;" and, in the second place, refer to the 2d Table of his report, "session 1876," (i. e., the State Census of 1875,) and it will be seen that he found still residing in Louisiana in 1875, "9,084 foreigners over 21 years not naturalized," and in addition "19,374 naturalized foreigners." If from these 19,374 foreign citizens in 1875, there be deducted the 10,604 foreign citizens in June, 1870, the result is an increase since the Census of 1870, of 8,770 foreign citizens. But this is not the whole increase to the date of the last election, for the records of the courts prove that since the Census of 1875 there have been naturalized in this city, out of the "5,266\* foreigners over 21 not naturalized," 1,600 foreign born citizens; and if the "3,818"\* of the same class, residing in the country-parishes, were naturalized there, in the same proportion (1,160) as they were in New Orleans, then the total number of foreigners naturalized in this State since the Census of 1875 amounts to 2,760. Thus, on the authority of the Registrar of Voters, substantiated by the records of the courts, and on a pro rata estimate of the number of foreigners naturalized in the country parishes, there have been naturalized in Louisiana, since the census of 1870, a sum total of (8,770 plus 2,760) 11,530 foreign born citizens. And if this increase of 11,530 naturalized foreigners be now added to the previous excess-increase of 2,569 youths in 1870, who had

---

\* See 2d Table of State Census, 1875, and page 185 Ex. Doc. No. 2.



attained their majority in 1876—we have a sum (14,099) which deducted from the 14,275 colored majority in 1870, *left a majority of only 176 colored citizens in November, 1876.* Thus, if reliance be placed on the Census of 1870, and on the records of the courts since then, the colored majority in 1876 was 176.

3d. But, is no deduction of colored citizens to be made for the “many thousands” who, it is charged, have been murdered since June, 1870? What number shall be deducted? The partisan statements on this subject are so indefinite and conflicting, that the statistician is forced to surrender to others the solution of this problem; a solution which belongs especially to those who claim that, associated with the indefinite thousands of *decrease*, there should be considered the very large *increase* of colored citizens, which has accrued from their “steady influx during the past six years,” in the face of such murderous discouragement. *If* these high authorities should succeed in fairly balancing this increase on the one hand with this decrease on the other, then they would be in unison with the United States Census, the records of the courts, and with myself in declaring that there are no trustworthy statistical data whatever, which justify the conclusion that there was any material majority of the colored over the white “citizens” of Louisiana in 1876.

Let us now see what the State Census of 1875, unaided by the United States Census, testifies as to the relative proportion of white to colored citizens,

and here let it be kept in mind that the chief of this census was the Registrar of Voters, and therefore that if the census of 1875, and the registration of voters in 1876 and other years, should not present concurring evidence, then it would be the Registrar of Voters who discredited himself.

The nine tables of this Census were published in 1875, and if we turn to the 2d Table (or to pp. 183-5, Ex Doc. No. 2) it will be found that a population of "450,611" colored plus "56,019 foreign born," plus 348,897 \* native born whites yielded "188,359 persons entitled to vote." Search the official report from end to end and you will find not one word to indicate how these 188,359 persons were distributed between the races. I in person did in 1875 unavailingly solicit this information from the Registrar. To the best of my knowledge and belief it required two strong pressures to force out this post facto distribution ; first, the necessity of giving a tardy quasi-corroboration to the registration of 1876 ; and, second, the divulging influence of the Investigating Visiting Committees. The sum totals of this distribution are semi-officially reported on p. 174 of Ex Doc. 2, but the details of these sum totals were not officially (see note p.12 ) reported until December 31, 1876, in the N. O. Daily Republican. Why were these important data reserved in the *private* archives of the Census, and their promulgation suppressed for more than one year ? If it be true that the greater

---

\* Total white pop. 1875, "404,916" minus "56,019" foreign born " equals 348,897 native born white pop.

the number of details in a Census, the greater is the power of the statistician to test the accuracy of said Census; and if it be true that these special data of this Census of 1875 are wholly inconsistent with other data therein, then there were good reasons for suppressing them, as will now be shown.

The long suppressed data are that the "188,359 persons entitled to vote" consisted of "104,192 colored plus 84,167 whites," which gives a majority of 20,025 colored persons entitled to vote in 1875. In fine, then, the Registrar of Voters asserts that 450,611 colored population yielded 104,192 citizens, that 56,019 foreign born population yielded 19,374 citizens, and that 348,897 native born whites yielded 64,793 citizens ("84,167" minus "19,374.") Now, to these assertions of the Registrar add the fact, that since his Census, the 19,374 foreign born citizens have received such addition (2,760) as to increase this number in 1876 to 22,134, and to increase the 84,167 white citizens to a sum total of 86,927.

Now we are prepared for two sums in the rule of three, which only the suppressed data of the Census furnish the means to propound.

1st. If 450,611 colored population yielded 104,192 citizens, then how many citizens ought a population of 348,897 native born whites to yield? Arithmetic answers 80,763, but the Registrar of Voters answered 64,793! Now if to this arithmetical 80,763 native white citizens be added the 22,134 foreign citizens, and their sum 102,897 be deducted from the the Registrar's "104,192 colored citizens," we have a majority left of only 1,295 colored—the majority

which would have been left if the Registrar had enumerated the native white citizens as successfully as he did the colored. Now reverse this hypothesis, and suppose that the Registrar had been as unsuccessful in finding colored citizens as he was in finding native white citizens, what would be the sum, and its result?

2d. If 348,897 native white population yielded 64,793 citizens, then how many citizens ought a colored population of 450,611 to yield? Arithmetic answers 83,681 colored citizens—but our Chief of Census reports that he enumerated 104,192! Now, if this arithmetical 83,681 colored citizens be deducted from the 84,167 total white citizens actually reported by the Census, plus the 2,760 foreigners naturalized since this Census, (86,927) there will be left a majority of 3,246 white citizens. Thus while the Registrar reports a majority of 20,025 colored persons entitled to vote—yet of two reasonable calculations based on his long suppressed data, one yields us a colored majority of only 1,295 colored, while the other furnishes a white majority of 3,246. Ought not the statistician to conclude “*mediotutissimus ibis*,” and does not the United States Census justify this conclusion? But, possibly there may be reasonable objections to both of the above sums, which are based upon the fair presumption that the Caucasian is endowed with power equal to the African—to generate males over 21 years of age, and that nothing has occurred to disturb the natural results of this procreative power. In truth

there are four reasonable objections to be urged, and they are as follows :

1st. The war reduced the number of the white much more than of the colored citizens. But this reduction to the disadvantage of the white citizens has had the great compensation derivable from eleven years of peace. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to estimate the extent of the loss, and the extent to which it has been repaired.

The remaining three objections are in favor of the whites, and are furnished by Republican Official Reports.

(2d.) There is a much greater excess of colored females over colored males, than of native white females over native white males. Such minute but important details are not to be found in the State Census of 1875, but the United States Census reports that in 1870 there was in Louisiana an excess of 6,635 colored females, and of native born white females an excess of only 960.

(3d.) The "steady influx of negroes" during the year preceding the election had not acquired the privilege of voting ; and these immigrants must be deducted from the colored citizens of 1876.

(4th.) And, of course, "the thousands who have been murdered," as is alleged, since the close of the Census must have made fearful inroad on the colored majority of 1876.

To what extent these four reasonable objections impair the fairness of the previous calculations, I must leave others to estimate. For my own part, it is inconceivable that any well-balanced mind

can arrive at the conclusion that the data of the Registrar of Voters in any wise justify the belief that there is now in Louisiana any material majority of the colored over the white citizens; and the acceptance by such a person of the Registrar's long delayed "ipse dixit," that the majority was 20,025—an ipse dixit controverted by his own data, and by the United States Census—is to me still less comprehensible. Having now considered what the Registrar of Voters testified in 1875 as to the Census, let us see what this same official bears witness to in respect to the registration of voters in 1876.

A short preface will introduce this subject.

It is self evident that from indifference and from *absence forced* by sickness and many causes, it is impossible that all who are entitled to vote should be registered.\* In 1872 I published a paper giving the results of my investigation of all the available registration-statistics of every State and city which registered their voters. The result of this investigation was that in registering those entitled to vote, the *minimum* loss was one in twenty, and that the *average loss* was generally as much as one in six to seven.

Trusting this result, it follows that the 188,359 persons entitled to vote in 1875, could not at the utmost have registered in 1875 more than 179,000.

---

\*It is equally evident that for the same reasons all the registered voters can never in any case actually vote. Hence the statistician must always make a marked distinction, (which is seldom done by the press or the public,) between these four differing and constantly decreasing data, viz: (1) number of males 21 years and over, (2) number of citizens, or persons entitled to vote, (3) number of registered citizens or voters, and (4) number of actual voters.

Now, if we concede such increase in 1876 as the Census of 1875 indicates, a concession unwarranted and unlawful to the immigrant-increase, even then the registration could not have exceeded 187,000 in 1876. It would be extremely liberal to the Registrar of Voters to concede that, even if the accuracy of his Census of 1875 be accepted, it was barely possible for him to register 185,000 voters.\*

We are now prepared to ask what number he did register, and he answers that he succeeded in converting 185,000 *registrable* voters into 207,622 *registered* voters!! Why, the miracle of "the loaves and the fishes" was a very pitiful affair compared to this enormous reproduction of human beings. And when from out of this miracle we extricate the statement that the Registrar found in these 207,622 voters a colored majority of 22,914 in 1876, instead of the 20,025 majority which he reported in 1875—the absurdity of which has been demonstrated by his own data—what modicum of faith is left to give him credence?

Let us halt a moment to follow up, and thus to understand well the astounding data of the Registrar of Voters. In 1872 he reported a majority of 10,868 colored voters, (viz: 99,047 minus 88,179;) in 1874 a majority of 13,958, (viz: 90,781 minus 76,823;) in 1875 a majority of 20,025, and in 1876 it had grown to 22,914. For the data as to 1872 and 1874, see table 4 of the Registrar's report, "session of 1875," and for a full exposure of the data

---

\* The vote "as cast" in 1876 of 160,964 is a confirmation of this.

by which these majorities of 1872 and 1874 were procured, see my testimony in 1875. From that testimony I will cite one fact as to the registration of 1874. The United States Census reports as to New Orleans plus Carrollton, annexed in 1874, that there were 36,198 white males 21 years and over, and **13,341** colored males—the Registrar registered as voters 28,054 whites, and **18,145** colored! Is this sufficient?\*

Respecting the registration of 1876, the President's Visiting Committee reported to him on page 4, citing the law on page 161 of Ex. Doc. 2, that the jurisdiction of the Returning Board extends over "the freedom and purity" of the registration as well as of the election. The silence of this committee, the inaction of the Returning Board as to the evolution of "207,622 registered voters" out of "188,359 persons entitled to vote," inspires the fear that these high officials were so amazed by "the freedom" of this operation, that they were bereft of the calmness of mind necessary to investigate its "purity."

If official negligence be the alleged explanation, then it is singular that statistical data should prove that this and all such negligences invariably resulted in favor of the political party to which these negligent officials owe their offices. The charge has been made that means were taken to stimulate

---

\*In 1870, the year of the Census, the Registrar did not report the voters as white and colored, but as "signers" and "X markers." The registrations of other years prove that the former class closely correspond to the latter in New Orleans. In 1870 the Census reported in New Orleans only 12,398 colored males 21 years and over, and yet in 1870 there were registered as voters 17,337 "X markers"!



the zeal of the Registration Officials, and that the excessive registration was due to a zeal so excessive as to *overdo* the labor required. In the statistical data which official reports contain, and which have now been presented, there is nothing to refute this charge. On the contrary, the official data fully corroborate the testimony of several officials besides Ledet, a State Supervisor of Registration who, on January 5th, 1877, is reported to have sworn before the Blackburn-Congressional Sub-Committee that "in the printed list of Registration, dead men, convicts, and absent men's names appeared as voters," and statistical data fully justify the conclusion that by such means as these must have been derived the registered *colored* majority of 22,914.

### III. Statistical data as to

#### NEW ORLEANS.

To farther illustrate "the freedom and purity" of the registration and election in 1876, attention is now called to the statistical data which refer to the city of New Orleans, or Orleans Parish, as it is also designated. Out of the fifty-seven parishes, this one is specially selected for the following reasons: The Registrar of Voters failed to find here any "steady influx of negroes," the Returning Board equally failed to meddle with the vote "as cast" on the ground of intimidation, and no official report claims the existence of any of those exceptional conditions which defy the Laws of Population, and the calculations of the statistician. Farther, this city contains one-fourth of the population, three-

fifths of the taxable property, and the Capitol of this State ; here some 2,000 whites add their votes to those of the black republicans ; here is centered the purse and the sword of the State re-enforced by the bayonets of our whole country ; and here, where the most exalted and the greatest number of republican officials hold in hand the sacred " balance of justice,"—should be found the best evidence of their fitness to fill their high posts, and to guard "the freedom and purity" of registration and election.

The State Census reports that Orleans Parish had in 1875, 57,647 colored and 145,721 white population. The Census of 1870, as also our weekly mortality statistics induce me to accept these figures as close approximations to the truth. The 145,721 white population consisted of 43,712 foreign born, plus 102,009 native born whites. The State Census of 1875 farther reports, that the 145,721 white population yielded " 28,907 white persons entitled to vote " that of these " 14,984 were naturalized foreigners," and hence the balance 13,923 were native born white citizens ; and that there were " 15,485 colored persons entitled to vote." Thus then the State Census reports that

- 1.—The 43,712 foreign born population yielded 14,984 citizens ;
- 2.—The 102,009 native white population yielded 13,923 citizens ; and
- 3.—The 57,647 colored population yielded 15,485 citizens.

While the State Census is silent on the subject,

the United States Census reports that in 1870 the native white population had an excess of 4,073 females, and that the colored population (only about half as numerous as the native white population) had an excess of 7,210 colored females.

Now, once again to the Rule of Three :

If 102,009 native white population (having an excess of 4,073 females) yielded 13,923 citizens, then how many citizens should be yielded by 57,647 colored population (having an excess of 7,210 females)? Arithmetic answers that, even if you disregard the female excess, (so unfavorable to the colored citizens) the 57,647 should have yielded only 7,860 ; but the Registrar of Voters replies that he enumerated 15,485 ! On the other hand,—If 57,647 colored population (with 7,210 female excess) yielded 15,485 colored citizens, then how many native white citizens should be yielded by 102,009 native white population (with 4,073 female excess?) Disregarding again the female excess, arithmetic replies 27,400 native white citizens ; but the Registrar of Voters replies that he found only 13,923 of them ! But, it shall not be forgotten that these replies were suppressed in the official report ; and that the citizens of this State had to wait until December 31st, 1876, and until after an extraneous pressure had been brought to bear, before they were permitted to know either the data necessary for such calculations, or what were the replies of our Census-Chief.

This Census-Chief, or Registrar of Voters, who reported in 1875 only “ 15,485 colored persons en-

titled to vote," officially assures us that in 1876 he registered "23,485" *of them!* What shall be said of "the purity" of such a registration? The following facts may aid a just man to say something:

The 15,485 colored citizens of 1875, or if you prefer it the 23,485 colored voters registered in 1876, cast for Governor a Republican vote which, when added to those of some 2,000 white Republicans, amounted, says the Returning Board, to only 14,693, though the vote "as cast," was 15,030. Does not this prove what "terrible and revolting means" must have been taken to intimidate the black Republicans of this city? Yet the Returning Board failed to take any notice whatever thereof.

Let me aid our hypothetical just man a little farther. It has been proved that if the Census-Chief had been as successful in finding native white citizens as he was in finding colored citizens, then he should have found 27,400 native white citizens, even if the very large excess of colored females had had no influence in proportionately diminishing the number of males over 21 years of age. To determine then how many white citizens ought to have been found, there must be added to this arithmetical 27,400 native white citizens, the "14,984 naturalized foreigners" reported by the Registrar of Voters acting as Census-Chief, and the 1,600 foreigners naturalized in the courts of New Orleans since the Census was taken. This will yield a sum total of 43,984 white persons entitled to vote in New Orleans in 1876. Yet the Registrar of Voters, from whose own data these 43,984 white citizens

pure registration would be denounced by partisans, as illustrating, when compared with preceding registrations, the gross extent to which the colored voters had been intimidated and defrauded.

Yet my conclusions are the only estimates fairly deducible, not from one or two of such data as may happen to favor the view of either political party, but from *all the data* to be found in the official reports of officers, who have belonged exclusively to the party now in power.

From the facts now submitted as to the whole State, and as to the parish of Orleans, fair inferences may be drawn as to what the facts probably are in respect to each one of the remaining fifty-six parishes.\*

---

\* The statistician should be warned that of the fifty-seven parishes of Louisiana in 1876, the boundaries and population of seventeen of them did not correspond to the United States Census. For, since 1870, four new parishes—Lincoln, Red River, Vernon and Webster—have been constructed out of eleven old parishes, viz: Bienville, Bossier, Caddo, Calcasieu, Claiborne, De Soto, Jackson, Natchitoches, Rapides, Sabine and Union. In addition to these fifteen alterations, Carrollton, with 6,495 population in 1870, was detached in 1874 from Jefferson and annexed to Orleans parish.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF REFERENCES.

- 
- I. "Reports of the State Registrar of Voters to the General Assembly of Louisiana, Session of 1871," also for "Session of 1875," also, for "Session of 1876." The last is the State Census of 1875, and is to be found in large part on pages 183-5 of "Senate Ex. Doc No. 2, Dec. 6, 1876."
  - II. The Table "compiled from official records" in the "Official Journal of Louisiana," i. e., The New Orleans Daily Republican, of Dec. 31, 1876.
  - III. "Message from the President of the United States, Dec. 6, 1876, 44th Congress, 2d Session, Senate Ex. Doc. No. 2," known as the Sherman-Report, and I have referred to it as Ex. Doc. No. 2.
  - IV. The Census, (not the Compendes thereof,) for 1850 and 1860, and especially for 1870, vols. 1 and 2.
  - V. "The Living, Dying, Registering and Voting Population of Louisiana, 1868-1874, by S. E. Chaillé, M. D., etc." See the Congressional Report of House Committee on Louisiana Affairs, 1875; also see the National Medical Library, Washington, D. C., and the "New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal, March, 1875."
  - VI. "Proceedings of the Louisiana Returning Board," in election of November 7, 1876—a stenographical report published in New Orleans, 1876. It contains the "vote as cast," "compiled from duplicates" of the officials in charge of the polls.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

The Hon. G. A. Jenks requesting the facts in reference to Dr. Chaille's non-registration as a voter in 1876, he stated:

I am habitually an absentee in summer. In 1874 business prevented my return in time to register; it was therefore necessary under the law that I, who had always been registered, and had voted from 1851 to 1874 should be again registered in 1876. I usually return on the last Saturday of October, but in 1876 I returned earlier, viz: on Thursday, 26th, for the special reason that the registration would close at 6 P. M. on October 28th, and that I might have ample time to register. The first thing done after my arrival was to proceed early on Friday morning to the office of Pat. Creagh, the registration officer in my ward (Third.) I was warned that said Creagh was an unscrupulous partisan and would give me trouble. On my arrival I found on each side of the entrance a cue of from fifty to one hundred men, most of whom were colored. Among the whites, and about the twentieth man from the entrance on one side, was Mr. Meader (firm of Clark & Meader), a well-known citizen. I had much neglected business to attend to, and delayed only long enough to observe that which was afterwards tested, that the average time to be registered was fifteen minutes per man. I returned fruitlessly twice again on Friday. At my last attempt I found that Mr. Meader had maintained his place in his cue for nine hours—patiently but unavailingly. Thereupon I solicited, for the next day, the advice and aid of a policeman there on duty. I returned early on Saturday, and added on this day to my three attempts on Friday, four ineffectual efforts to register. The policeman failed me, and I wrote a note to the Registrar stating that I was a physician and my time precious, and I begged him to grant the few moments necessary to a citizen as well known as myself—having been ten years in the same ward—and enclosed my registration certificate of 1868, or other year, to prove my statement and facilitate him in promptly registering me. To this application no reply was vouchsafed. In my seven efforts I never succeeded in getting nearer the entrance than the thirtieth man in the cue. As it required fifteen minutes per man, and as there were only about ten office-hours daily, it was manifest that even the twenty-first man of each cue might stand there all day and yet would not be registered. I was assured that most of the men in the cues were posted there to retard, and so prevent white citizens from registering; and I believe this. Many of my acquaintances succeeded, as I was afterwards told, in registering in other wards by purchasing from men in front of the cue their places. I was not so shrewd.

Hon. W. Townsend elicited from the witness the reply that if he could have voted, he certainly would not have voted for Packard as Governor.

Mr. Townsend then asked a number of questions bearing on the relative

fecundity, productiveness, and mortality of the white and colored populations of Louisiana. The witness replied :

My special researches in Sanitary Vital Statistics have not led me to investigate these questions particularly, except as to the mortality in New Orleans; for, as to the balance of the State, we are destitute of the necessary statistical data, and without these no man's *opinion* is worth much.

In New Orleans as in every city the colored mortality is greater than the white, and this especially as to children under two years of age. I attribute this greater mortality to ignorance, improvidence and inferior hygienic conditions rather than to any race-peculiarity. [This is strikingly illustrated by the facts as to vaccination and small pox.] I believe that while some few intelligent negroes have improved since the war as to health, productiveness, etc., yet that the majority, which contains a large number who are grossly ignorant, improvident and brutal, has deteriorated since emancipation, and certainly that their average condition as to health, etc., is inferior to the whites. We have no statistics whatever as to the annual number of white and colored births, so I will say nothing as to their relative fecundity, except that the white race has never shown any inferiority in this particular, except in places very densely populated. There is no such pressure of population in Louisiana. At the conclusion, Hon. W. Townsend said : "I believe, Doctor, I have no more questions to ask. I will not undertake to dispute your statements, and I do not question the accuracy of the statements in your report."

Since the above testimony was given, I have investigated with care the questions propounded by Mr. Townsend, and desire to add the following facts in order to furnish more precise information than I was enabled to give in my sworn evidence.

The only mortality statistics of Louisiana are in the Census. The data in Vol. II, 1870, represent that in 1870 the white mortality was 2. and the colored 1.8 per cent. To properly appreciate this *apparent* disadvantage to the whites, it is indispensable to read pp. ix and x of Vol. II—to remember the mode of taking the Census, to know the hygienic surroundings of the negro, and also how illiterate, negligent and forgetful he is. I am convinced, that the relatively smaller mortality reported in the Census is due to greater failure on the part of the negro to report to the Census-takers colored deaths, than the whites failed to report. It is certain that even the whites failed to remember and to report a very large number of white deaths.

The New Orleans mortality statistics are reliable, and prove that the colored mortality is much greater than the white, except during yellow fever epidemics, of which New Orleans has had since 1858 only one (1867). During the four years, 1866, 1867, 1869 and 1870 the average mortality per annum was 30 white and 40 colored per 1000 of each population. In 1872 of every 1000 white children under 2 years of age 154 died, and of the colored 293; and these figures for 1873 were 181 white, and 335 colored deaths. The above years have been selected solely because the data



for other years have not been compiled or published. [See pp. 9 and 10, "Vital Statistics of New Orleans, 1769 to 1874, by S. E. Chaillé," to be found in the National Medical Library, and in July No. 1874, New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal.]

To determine the relative productiveness of the races in Louisiana it is necessary to eliminate from the statistical data, as far as possible, the effects of the war. Now, the children, who in 1870 were from 10 to 20 years of age were not specially affected by the war, they were born from 1850 to 1860, and owe their parentage to the peaceful population of from 1850 to 1860. This peaceful population was in 1850, whites 255,491, and colored 262,271; these increased in 1860 to whites 357,456, and colored 350,373. Thus it appears that during the ten years (1850-1860) the two races were almost exactly equal in number. The United States Census reports that in 1870 there were in Louisiana of children from 10 to 20 years of age 88,211 white, and 76,591 colored—an excess of 11,620 white children from 10 to 20 years old. These facts certainly tend to prove that the whites of Louisiana *rear more children* than do the colored, though they do not prove that the whites give birth to more. There are no statistical data by which to determine the relative fecundity of the races in Louisiana.

S. E. CHAILLÉ.





This book should be returned  
the Library on or before the last  
stamped below.

A fine of five cents a day is incurred  
by retaining it beyond the specified  
time.

Please return promptly.

DUE MAY 7 1915

FEB 5 - 56 H

WIDENER  
BOOK DEPT  
JAN 19 1981  
CANCELLED  
JAN 23 1981

US 6352.12  
Intimidation and the number of whit  
Widener Library 004363086



3 2044 086 290 574